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ABSTRACT

Ambitions for social mobility among rural southern Blacks and their influence on out-migration trends were explored in this analysis. Data utilized were collected as part of a more comprehensive study of living patterns among disadvantaged families. In the summer of 1970, samples of Black, female adults were drawn from 2 rural villages and a town of about 5,000 inhabitants in a nonmetropolitan county of East Texas. The total sample numbered 52 village and 207 town homemakers. The data indicated that, in general, level of educational aspiration had little impact on desire for rural out-migration. It was observed that those desiring high levels of education (i.e., more than high school) were slightly more inclined to want to remain in the area. While differences were not statistically significant, this evidence was in direct contradiction with the original proposition that aspirations for higher education would be positively associated with rural out-migration. It was further concluded that, except for age and certainty of educational aspiration, family income and subjective income status had little influence on desire for out-migration. (HBC)

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ASPIRATIONS OF RURAL BLACK WOMEN AND THEIR ORIENTATIONS TOWARD MIGRATION*

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationships existing between aspirations for upward social mobility and expressed interests for place of residence change among black adult females from the rural South.[1/] Data available from a recent study of 259 black homemakers residing in a nonmetropolitan, East Texas county bordering on Louisiana provide us with an opportunity to begin exploring this relatively little-investigated problem.

The history of rural out-migration of blacks from our southern hinterland is well-documented and much discussed and, for our purposes, needs no reiteration here (Killingsworth, 1970:4-8; Billingsley, 1968:73-77; Ponder, 1971:297-301; Beale, 1971; Price, 1969; Tauber, 1969). The more recent change in volume and nature of out-migration of blacks from the rural South, while less well-documented, is receiving considerable attention. As noted by our colleagues in a very recent paper (Copeland and Upham, 1973:1), the movements of blacks from rural to metropolitan areas is diminishing and southern blacks apparently have curtailed traditional patterns of out-migration to other states. Yet, many of the blacks residing in the rural south, at least young blacks, still desire and plan to move to or near a city (Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1970; and Youmans, et al., 1965). While it is true that aspiration or even plans for migration will not predict actual migration behavior perfectly, there is no reason to believe that the existence of such orientations are not prerequisites for such behavior (Burchinal, 1965:274).

There is little question that, in the thinking of many people including influential politicians, the possible continuation of movement of poorly educated and trained people from the hinterland to metropolitan areas is associated with society's most pressing problems. Such migration has been viewed as especially problematic in reference to Southern rural blacks. It is not uncommon today to hear from diverse sources in our population some new variation of the old rural-oriented refrain, "How can you keep them down on the farm. . ." -- except, now the concern is not with the depletion of rural communities, but with the continued overcrowding of metropolitan centers.

Why do some southern rural blacks want to move to the metropolis? While their patterns of movement are extremely well documented, little exists in the way of valid theory or past empirical investigations to provide an answer to this question. Consequently, the ability to predict future residence movements of the rural, southern black population is lacking (Copeland and Upham, 1973). Many who have written on this subject feel, with good justification, that in the past the prime motivation of blacks has been simply a desire to improve immediate economic resources. While there is little doubt that this was in fact a prime motive for rural out-migration in the past, it can be questioned whether it still is a prime motivation or even whether it was the only prime consideration in reference to migration decision-making among rural southern blacks. Other factors have been suggested as salient in this regard: regional differentials in racial prejudice (Killingsworth, 1970:4; Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971; Ponder, 1971:103); and dissatisfaction with housing (Copeland and Upham, 1973).

It is our contention that a more important, subsuming factor is aspiration for upward social mobility. This idea could include more specific considerations, such as immediate income gains, better housing, less racial discrimination, etc., because it is at a higher level of abstraction. Further, aspiration for social mobility is more likely to be reflected in an instrumentally ordered, long-run view of the future than more immediate, specific concerns. In our own society, increased education generally is viewed as one of the primary means for attainment of upward social mobility, due largely to its relationship to improved occupational attainment. In the black community, educational attainment per se is highly valued and in itself may be an important criterion of social status. Consequently, disadvantaged, rural black adults desiring higher levels of educational attainment are assumed to be motivated toward upward social mobility. It is our intention to explore the extent to which such educational aspirations relate to desire for change in place of residence.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The goal of this analysis is to explore the proposition that ambitions for social mobility among rural southern blacks influences their orientations toward rural out-migration. More specifically, the following questions are posed to guide the analysis:

(1) To what extent are desires for substantial change in place of residence type related to desires for increased educational attainment among the respondents?

(2) To what extent is the relationship between educational aspiration and desire for rural out-migration influenced by age of respondent, SES, and expectation of realizing migration aspirations.

Preliminary to the major analysis, the following will be investigated:

(1) To what extent do rural, southern black adults desire to migrate? Of those who want to migrate, where do they want to reside?

(2) To what extent do rural, southern black adults desire additional educational attainment? Of those desiring further education, how certain are they of achieving their aspirations?

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

While literally hundreds of studies have been done during the last decade on status projections (aspirations and expectations) of youth, very little attention has been given to status projections of adults.[2/] With the exception of one report which utilizes the same data base as ours (Copeland and Upham, 1973) virtually no empirical research specifically relevant to this analysis could be located.

Copeland and Upham (1973) reported that age, residential location (i.e., village, town, metropolitan), and dissatisfaction with household space were related to residence aspirations and expectations. They observed that the black homemaker who was most likely to have an apathetic stance toward her own residential mobility was older, resided in a village, and had a larger family.

Two other studies explored black adults' aspirations and expectations (Dunkelberger, 1965; Lorenz, 1972), but neither specifically examined the relationship of aspirations for social mobility to orientations toward migration -- see abstracts of these two reports presented in Appendix A.

Although rural migration patterns have been an area of substantial research attention, little of the literature has incorporated residential aspirations and expectations in a conceptual framework. Indeed, any research

concerning residential aspirations is scarce, and the few studies located are limited to youth. One such study was that of Youmans, et al. (1965) in which 171 black and 240 white high school seniors from low-income rural areas in Florida were surveyed. Findings indicated that Negroes of both sexes more often preferred urban residence (specifically, in large cities) than whites. In basic agreement with this study, Kuvlesky and Pelham (1970) determined from a racial comparison of 484 rural East Texas sophomores that Negro youth generally both desired and expected to live in large cities. These two sets of findings are strongly supported by recent studies reported in other states of the South (Hernandez and Picou, 1969; Boyd, 1970).

In summary, it is obvious from the almost complete lack of empirical data that appears to exist on status projections of rural, southern black adults that we have little idea of either object or extent of their migration or social status aspirations. Are the Southern blacks victims of the so-called "culture of poverty" -- apathetic and lacking in desire to improve their socioeconomic circumstances? The findings of this investigation will make a contribution by providing a start toward filling this empirical void. As far as we can determine, this paper constitutes the first report of empirical data on the interaction of these two aspects of the "aspirational frame of reference" of black adults residing in the rural South.

METHODS

The Sample and Data Collection.[3] The data utilized in this study were collected as part of a more comprehensive study of patterns of living among disadvantaged families. In the early summer of 1970, samples of black, female adults were drawn from two rural villages and a town of about 5,000 inhabitants in a nonmetropolitan county of East Texas. This particular county was selected, because it was located in an area culturally akin to the "Deep South" and because it had a higher proportion of blacks and a lower mean and median family income than the state of Texas generally.

Only black females who met the following criteria were included in the sample: (1) they considered themselves to be the female mainly responsible for caring for their home; (2) a child under 18 years of age resided in their home; (3) the homemakers were under 65 years of age and, unless the mother of a child living in the home, over 18. All of the black households in the villages and town were screened to determine if they had a female homemaker who qualified. Over 97 percent of the eligible village homemakers and 94 percent of the qualified town homemakers were subsequently interviewed. The total sample numbered 52 village and 207 town homemakers.

All of the respondents were interviewed by black female adults who had been trained by the researchers. The interviewers were from a county adjacent to that of the study area. They were requested not to interview anyone with whom they were personally acquainted.

Attributes of the Respondents.[4] The black families of the respondents generally appeared to be of low socioeconomic status. Most of the homemakers and their husbands had not completed high school and few had taken any kind of job training. Almost all were employed in semiskilled or unskilled jobs.

While the family incomes during the year preceding the survey ranged as high as $15,000, the median in both the village and town samples was about $4,800. According to an income index which takes into consideration income needs by family size and age of the family members, 72% of the village families and 65% of the town families appeared to be in or near poverty.

Most of the homemakers were between 30 and 49 years of age; however, the villagers tended to be older than the town homemakers. Median ages were 41 and 36, respectively. Almost all of the homemakers were born within 50 miles of their present home, and few had moved their place of residence in the past five years. They obviously are among the least geographically mobile population segments in our society.

Measurement. A description of the questionnaire items employed in this analysis are presented in APPENDIX B. Information regarding categorization of responses utilized in the analysis will be provided where appropriate throughout the discussion of findings and detailed distributions of the basic variables used in the major analysis can be found in APPENDIX C.

FINDINGS OF PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

Place of Residence Orientations

An extensive analysis of several aspects of place of residence orientations of the black female adults involved in this study has already been reported by Copeland and Upham (1973). We are focusing only on several dimensions of the respondents' place of residence aspirations: size, proximity to city, and relation of desired residence to current residence in terms of regional location. These aspirations are elicited from the instruments presented in "Part A" of APPENDIX B. Whereas the combined

nonmetropolitan population of adult black females, village plus town homemakers, will be used in the major analysis, we provide village-town comparisons here to increase the potential utility of the descriptive preliminary analysis.

The village respondents clearly differed from the town dwellers in that over three-fourths of them did not want to live in or near a city. The town respondents preferred just the opposite in almost the same proportion, Table 1. Still, only about one out of every five of all respondents desired residence in a city. It would appear that adult black females, at least, pose no particular threat to additional inner-city overcrowding, if they can realize their aspirations. This finding contrasts sharply with what has been observed for rural black youth in the South.

Relative to size of place of residence desired, most of the village dwellers are about equally split in preference between two open-country choices--nonfarm and farm, Table 2. In contrast, almost none of the town women wanted to live on a farm and altogether only one in four nonmetropolitan respondents desired open country residence. A clear majority of the total sample desired to live in a small place (i.e., town, village, or open country). Few village or town homemakers (11% of the total) wanted to live in either a large or middle sized city.

In reference to the particular place named as a desired location, (see APPENDIX B - Item 2) about half of the respondents did not want to leave their present area of residence and most of the remainder wanted to stay in East Texas (including metropolitan centers like Houston), Table 3. Again, however, the two place of residence groupings differed

Table 1. Place of Residence Aspirations of East Texas Black Women--Proximity to a City.

Residence Aspiration	Current Place of Residence		
	Villages (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)
	- - -

substantially. Only a small proportion of the villagers, as compared with over half of the town dwellers, desired to move from their present community.

In summary, the black women studied here are not ready to burn up the highways moving into metropolitan centers. Most of them want to live in small places or in the country, and what is more, most want to stay in East Texas. A relatively small proportion (10%) want to leave Texas--see APPENDIX C - Table 6.

Educational Status Projections

The town and village respondents held similar profiles of aspirations for additional educational attainment, Table 4. Of greatest significance, only about one in four had no desire for additional education. More than half desired some kind of post-high school education, and most of these wanted to graduate from college. An observation that has obvious implications for educational planners is that while over 20% of the respondents desired post-high school vocational training, almost none aspired to go to a junior college (see APPENDIX C - Table 7).

Given the generally low educational attainment of these respondents, one must conclude that these southern black women have amazingly high educational aspirations. These findings correspond with those from studies of black youth in the same general type of area in the south. These youth tend to have very high levels of educational aspirations, higher than their white counterparts (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968).

Reality begins to introduce its ugly head in reference to these respondents' evaluations of their chances to attain their educational aspirations. Not including those who do not desire further education, only about one in

Table 4. Educational Aspiration of East Texas Black Women by Place of Residence.

Educational Aspiration	Village (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)
		-%-	
None	25	23	23
Less than H.S.	2	1	1
H.S. Grad	13	20	20
H.S. +	37	21	24
College Grad	23	35	32
TOTAL	100	100	100

$X^2 = 8.8$ df = 4 .05<P<.10

Table 5. Appraisal of Chances to Carry Out Educational Aspirations.

Any Chance?	Village (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)
		-%-	
Yes	15	27	25
Don't Know	35	15	19
No	25	35	32
None Desired	25	23	23
TOTAL	100	100	100

$X^2 = 11.89$ df = 3 .01<P<.05

four indicate that they think they have any chance in this regard, Table 5. In this respect, these black adults appear to differ significantly from similarly located black youth, most of whom expect to attain the same educational status they aspire to, and almost all of whom expect to attain post-high school education (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968). This would appear to indicate that anticipatory educational goal deflection (gap between aspirations and expectations) may increase substantially from adolescence to adulthood.

As we surmised earlier, the motivations for wanting more education among our respondents were diverse (see APPENDIX C, Table 8). The most frequently given motive (40+%) was to get a better job, while income as a motive was cited by half as many. Seventy percent of the respondents mentioned one or both of these motives. This evidence appears to support our assumption stated at the beginning, that educational aspirations are probably at a higher level of abstraction than more immediate goal objectives, and therefore, a better indicator of long-run desires for upward social mobility.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND DESIRE FOR RURAL OUT-MIGRATION: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Analysis

For purposes of this section of the analysis, two analytical variables were developed from the original measures as follows:

(1) Educational aspirations were measured by grouping responses into four inclusive categories: No Additional Education, High School Graduate or Less, High School Plus Vocational School or Some College, and College Graduate.

(2) A measure for desire of rural out-migration was created through a combination of two other variables: preference of residence relative to proximity to a city and regional location of desired place of residence. (Distribution of respondents on the original measurement categories of two variables is shown in APPENDIX C, Tables 5 and 6.) To be conservative, we produced three categories of place of residence change from the interaction of the above two variables: one indicating "no substantial move"; one indicating "substantial move" which represents rural* out-migration; and a residual category labeled "marginal move." The operations are described below:

   a. No Substantial Move--included those who did not desire to move plus those who desired to move out of their present community but in the same county.

   b. Substantial Move (Rural Out-Migration)--included respondents who desired to (1) live in or near a city and (2) move out of Texas or to a different region in Texas.

   c. Marginal Move--all respondents other than those classified in the first two categories.

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*The reader is reminded to see Footnote 1 for our meaning of the term "rural."

The analytical variables, educational aspiration and desire for rural out-migration, were then cross-classified as shown in Table 6.

Findings

The data indicate that, in general, level of educational aspiration had little impact on desire for rural out-migration among the black women involved in this study. It was observed that those desiring high levels of education (i.e., more than high school) were slightly more inclined to want to remain in the hinterland than others. While differences were not statistically significant, this evidence is in direct contradiction with our original proposition that aspirations for higher levels of education would be positively associated with desire for rural out-migration.

Perhaps some factors associated with the status projections under investigation were confounding the relationships. Age would seem to be inversely related to interest in rural out-migration (Copeland and Upham, 1973) and certainty of expectation to migrate, positively related to it. The SES status of the family may influence level of educational aspiration and, perhaps, desired place of residence as well. While other variables might be involved, we had good measures for these three and decided to explore the nature of their influence on the relationship between the two status projections that constitute the prime focus of our attention.

THE IMPACT OF SELECTED CONTROL VARIABLES

Control: Analysis

To simplify the rather complex tabulations required by the three-way classification for the control analyses, both the "type of desired movement" and "educational aspiration" variables were simplified by reduction of measurement categories. For the remainder of the analyses to be reported,

Table 6. Desire for Rural, Out-Migration Among Respondents by Level of Educational Aspiration.

Desire for Out-Migration	Educational Aspiration			
	None (N=57)	High School Graduate[1] (N=49)	High School Plus[2] (N=62)	College Graduate (N=77)
No Move	42	43	58	57
Marginal Move	25	14	10	12
Substantial Move (Rural Out-Migration)	33	43	32	31
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

$X^2 = 9.37$ df = 6 $.10 < P < .20$

1. Includes four respondents desiring additional education but less than high school graduation.

2. High school graduation plus either vocational training or junior college.

the following operations were followed:

(1) Elimination of the residual migration aspiration category "Marginal Move." This left two categories for analysis: "No Move" and "Rural Out-Migration."

(2) Reduction of the educational aspiration levels from 4 to 3 by combining "High School Plus Vocational School or Some College" and "College" into one more inclusive "High School Plus" category. This operation appeared reasonable on the basis of the prior findings--no substantive differences in migration aspiration were observed between respondents of these two post-high school levels.

(3) Measurement categories on the control variables were kept to a maximum of three. The level distinctions employed were judged to be sociologically meaningful cutting points on the basis of our knowledge of the study area. See APPENDIX C for these measurement categories.

Even with these attempts to simplify the data, a number of cells were too small to provide an adequate base for X^2 analysis in some cases--APPENDIX D.

Controls: Findings

Earlier in our statement of objectives we specified the intention to explore the impact of certain major variables expected to influence the relationship between orientations toward place of residence and educational aspirations. This section describes our findings when controls for these variables--age, family income, subjective income status, and certainty of educational aspiration--were introduced into the analysis. Except for age and certainty of educational aspiration, these controls had generally little influence on the major relationship under investigation. The tabular data is provided in APPENDIX D. Short summaries of major findings are presented below by each control variable considered.

Age. The older the respondent the greater the negative association between high educational aspirations and desire for rural out-migration. This relationship is particularly strong among the older respondents. Ninety-five percent of those in this high educational aspiration category desired no move.

SES (Family Income). Two measures, objective and subjective, were used as indicators of SES. The objective measure was self-reported annual family income and the subjective measure was the individual respondent's self-placement of his family relative to others in the community in terms of financial status (see APPENDIX B, items 7 and 8 for the instruments).

Regarding actual family income, in only one income category, "High," did level of educational aspiration appear systematically associated with desire for rural out-migration among these respondents: the higher the educational aspiration the more likely the respondent was to desire no substantial change in residence. While this trend was observed not to be statistically significant, it is clear and consistent; the fact that it clearly contradicts our major proposition makes it worthy of note.

In the case of the subjective measure, no relationship was observed between educational aspiration and migration aspiration in any of the income categories; however, Low Subjective SES appeared to have a general impact on desire for out-migration, regardless of education aspired to. Self-placement in the Low SES category disproportionately produced a desire not to undergo substantial place of residence change, particularly in comparison with the middle-income group. It can be concluded from these findings that subjective perception of SES has a great deal more impact on desire for out-migration than level of educational aspiration or, for that matter, rank of actual family income.

Migration Expectation. We reasoned that the degree of certainty associated with attaining residence goals should have some influence on the relationship between educational and place of residence desires. Our findings, however, did not support this proposition. Regardless of whether or not the respondents were sure they were going to migrate, level of educational aspiration had no apparent substantial impact on desire for out-migration. (See APPENDIX D, Table 4) On the other hand, the data demonstrates very clearly a strong positive association between expectation of migration and desire for out-migration. More than three out of every four respondents expecting to migrate desired rural out-migration, as compared with a much lower percentage of those not expecting to migrate. Again, it can be concluded that another variable--this time certainty about migration--had more influence on rural out-migration aspirations than educational aspirations.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The investigation reported here has a number of obvious limitations that preclude generalizing beyond the population studied, i.e., black homemakers with young to teenage children in the home residing in one non-metropolitan East Texas county. The lack of any comparable findings from past research even eliminates the possibility of extending existing generalizations. Consequently, the conclusions reached here should be viewed, for the most part, as hypotheses providing direction for much needed future research on the "aspirational frames of reference" of rural men and women.

Listed below are the major findings produced from our investigation:

Educational Aspirations

(1) Most of the respondents had high educational goals but felt very uncertain of their chances to attain these goals.

(2) Of those desiring additional education, most desired either college graduation or post-high school vocational training.

(3) Almost none of them desired junior college degrees per se.

(4) Current place of residence did not significantly influence level of educational aspiration.

Place of Residence Desires

(1) Most of the respondents desired to remain in East Texas and to live in a small place or in the open country.

(2) A majority desired residence either near a city, or, to a lesser extent, in a city.

(3) About half of the respondents desired to move and about a third desired rural out-migration.

The Relationship of the Two Types of Aspirations

(1) No relationship appeared to exist between level of educational aspiration and desire for rural out-migration.

(2) The older the respondent the greater the negative association between high educational aspirations and desire for rural out-migration.

(3) Certainty of migration differences and subjective assessment of financial status were of no consequence in reference to this relationship.

(4) Objective indicators of social status (SES) had contradictory, partial affects on the relationship as follows:

A moderate, but consistent, negative association was observed between educational aspiration level and desire for rural out-migration among high income families.

Other Findings of Note

(1) A strong positive association was observed between the expectation of migration and desire for rural out-migration.

(2) Self-placement into SES rank classes was strongly associated with differences in desire for out-migration. The SES class placement relative to this desire were: LC<HC<MC.

In conclusion, it must be stated that our findings generally do not support the idea that level of educational aspirations influence the desire for black adults to migrate out of the rural South.

While our major guiding proposition appeared to produce mostly negative results, a number of other conclusions are suggested from our data that should provide a start toward filling the empirical void that exists in reference to the aspirational frames of reference of adult rural blacks in the South. The following conclusions of note are suggested from the results of our "Preliminary" and "Control" analysis:

(1) Rural black women in the South have high educational aspirations, low educational attainment expectations, and demonstrate high degrees of anticipatory goal deflection.

(2) Rural black women in the South prefer to live in small places--for the most part near a small city--and do not desire to move very far from their present regional location.

(3) Age and objective SES class-placement apparently have no marked impact on desire for rural out-migration that is clearly patterned.

(4) Subjective SES class placement has a strong but nonlinear association with desire for rural out-migration.

(5) Perception of certainty to migrate has a very strong association with desire for rural out-migration.

More research is needed to test the general validity of these conclusions in reference to similar populations and to see to what extent they can be generalized to other types of rural populations in the South and other regions. The high level of concern existing over the nature of the causitive forces influencing our maldistributed population should help facilitate this kind of research.

IMPLICATIONS

Several inferences from the conclusions of both a theoretical and a methodological nature may have significance at a more general sociological level of interest. Perhaps the most intriguing one involves the fact that the subjective social class indicator proved to have greater research utility than the objective indicator of SES--both involved rank classes of family income. If this finding is not unique to our population or problem (i.e., variables examined), it clearly points to the need for sociologists to reconsider their tendency to rely on objective indicators of "social class." Our findings would suggest that at least there would be utility in building measures of both objective and subjective class placement in future studies.

The nature of the impact of the subjective class indicator on desire for rural out-migration may also help explain the lack of general association between level of aspiration for social mobility and desire for out-migration. It may be that we need to explore the idea of "mobility aspiration"--i.e., aspiration level relative to current status-rank level--rather than simply absolute aspiration levels. With the data at hand and other similar data, we have the potential to begin searching into this possibility, and we plan to do so.

Another implication of some theoretical potential, at a more restricted level of sociological concern, is the fact that the black respondents studied appeared to demonstrate a great gap between high educational aspirations and low expectations--what Kuvlesky has labeled "anticipatory goal deflection" in his youth studies. Youth studied from similar areas do not demonstrate as great a difference between the two dimensions of status projections as these adults apparently do (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968). This leads to the

possible inference that as people age, aspirations remain relatively high--they don't become more "realistic"--but expectations are reduced by many to correspond to realistic chances for attainment.[5/] This seems to apply at least to those not having a great chance for upward mobility. This may help explain the often noted tendency for lower class parents to hold unrealistically high social attainment goals for their children. They have not given up the "great American dream"; they have just postponed its achievement by one generation. At any rate, this is an idea we hope to explore in future research using the same data base as we have used here.[6/]

FOOTNOTES

1. We are using the term "rural" loosely to approximate its real meaning as used by the general public--open-country and small places in nonmetropolitan areas. This would include small market centers such as the "town" involved in this study.

2. Status projections are a general idea encompassing the two more commonly used ideas of status aspirations (status desired in the future) and status expectations or plans (status anticipated in the future). For more elaborate discussion and other references on this conceptual scheme, see Kuvlesky and Pelham (1970) and Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky (1968).

3. More detailed information on selection of respondents, description of study areas, and interviewing operations have been reported previously in papers by Kuvlesky and Cannon (1971), Taft, Byrd, and Kuvlesky (1972), and Copeland and Upham (1973). These papers will be mailed on request.

4. More detailed findings on attributes have been reported previously in the reports cited above in Footnote 3.

5. Of course, it would take panel data to test this proposition adequately. Dr. Arthur G. Cosby and his associates at Texas A&M have such data and will be reporting findings relevant to this proposition in the near future. For instance, see Arthur G. Cosby, William W. Falk, and Sharon Kirklin, "Racial Models of Occupational Status Projections: Submodeling Using The Heise Path-Panel Method." Paper presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association Meetings, Dallas, March, 1973.

6. Information was obtained from the respondents on their aspirations for their children relative to occupational and educational attainment. Jane Sell intends to explore this proposition with our data during the coming year.

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APPENDIX A: ABSTRACTS OF PAST RESEARCH

Abstract #1

John Edward Dunkelberger, "Intensity of Job Mobility Aspiration Among Household Heads in Low-Income Areas of the Rural South." Unpublished Dissertation, State College, Mississippi, June 1965.

Description of Study

The sample utilized in this study consists of 965 male heads of households under 65 years of age. The sample was drawn from interviews administered to a random sample of open country households in selected low-income counties of seven southern states. These interviews were conducted between the summer of 1960 and the fall of 1961.

Major Conclusions

Intensity of desire for occupational mobility was the focus of this study. It was found that 7 of 11 items met scale criteria and formed an internally valid guttman scale. This scale was then utilized to rank the intensity of the respondents desire to find a new job that would allow him to make twice as much as he presently made. The scalable conditions were:

7. Endangering your health
6. Moving around the country a lot
5. Leaving your family for some time
4. Working harder than you do now.
3. Giving up your spare time
2. Leaving your present community
1. Working at night instead of during the daytime
0. Favored none of the conditions

Using this scale, conclusions reached were:

1). People dissatisfied with either their job, family income, or family residence held much more intense aspiration than people who were satisfied.

2) Age, race, education, residence were all significantly related to job mobility aspirations. (Age and residence were least important, while race and education were most important.)

3) The better the level of social and economic adjustment, the less intense the desire for job change. (Men in white-collar occupations had a lower level of aspiration than farm workers and both had a lower level of aspiration than blue collar workers.)

4) Intensity of job mobility aspiration varies with the nature of the occupational experience encountered during the course of a man's work life. (For example, partially employed men had more intense aspirations than fully employed men, and men having a history of occupational mobility held more intense job mobility aspirations than did the occupationally nonmobile.)

Abstract #2

Gerda Lorenz, "Aspirations of Low-Income Blacks and Whites: A Case of Reference Group Processes." American Journal of Sociology 78 (September 1972) pp. 371-399.

Description of Study

The sample consisted of 177 American adults, 110 blacks and 67 whites (both male and female). Interviewing was done in 1960 in four low-income public housing projects in New York City. Two of these projects were located in East Harlem and two were located on the Lower East Side. Residents were predominantly ethnic minority group members--blacks, Puerto Ricans, people of Italian origin and Eastern European Jews.

Major Conclusions

The use of the word "aspiration" is misleading as expectation was most often tapped. The measure of adult aspirations were conducted on three levels of expectations: 1) expectations of future higher earnings; 2) expectations of self-employment and/or different lines of work; 3) expections of home ownership--co-op apartment or house. The measure of adult aspirations for their children included both aspiration and expectations (a measure of high aspiration indicated both high aspiration and expectation).

With these measurements in mind, major conclusions were:

1) Blacks were more likely than whites to have high self-aspirations.

2) Blacks were less likely than whites to have high aspirations for their children.

3) Among both blacks and whites, those who have wealthy friends or relatives were more likely to have high self-aspirations as well as high aspirations for their children than those who do not have wealthy friends or relatives.

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

A. Place of Residence Orientations

I'd like to find out something about the kind of places you would like to live.

---

1. Tell me which of the following kind of places you would most desire to live for the rest of your life if you could live anywhere you wanted to.

FIRST (circle only one)	SECOND (circle only one)
Would you most desire to live	(Give all three alternatives)
A. In a City	(1) very large city (2) middle sized city (3) small city
B. Near a City	Near a city -- (4) in a town or village (5) in the country but not on a farm (6) on a farm
C. Not Near a City	Not near a city -- (7) in a town or village (8) in the country but not on a farm (9) on a farm

---

2. Could you give the name of the place you would most desire to live in?

_____
(Place name and state)

---

3. Do you ever really expect to move away from (insert name of present community). 1. Yes 2. No

B. Educational Aspiration

4. If you were completely free to decide, would you desire more formal education or schooling for yourself?

1 Yes 2 No

5. If YES.

How much education or schooling would you like to have, if you could have all you wanted? (Write in response.)

_____

_____

C. Educational Expectation

6. Do you really think there is any chance of your going back to school?

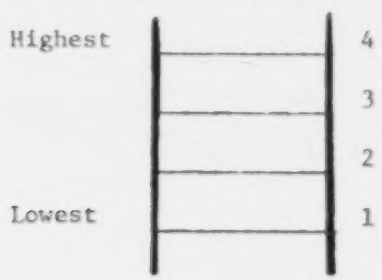
1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't know

D. Perception of Financial Status in Community (Subjective Evaluation of Income)

7. Compared with other families in the Negro community, where would you say your family is on this "ladder". (SHOW CARD)

(Circle one number for each item.)

As far as money is concerned? 1 2 3 4



E. Family Income

8. The family income figure included all take-home pay earned by family members during the 12 months preceding the survey plus any additional income received suring the year from other sources, such as social security payments, welfare, etc.

APPENDIX C: SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON MEASURES

Table 1. Magnitude of Place of Residence Change Desired by NM Black Women: Major Analysis Categories

	No.	%
No move	125	51
Marginal move	36	15
Substantial move	84	34
TOTAL	245	100

Table 2. Age of Respondents by Place of Residence

Age		Village (N=52)	Town (N=205)	Total (N=207)
25 or less	Young	6	19	16
26-35	Middle	27	30	30
36-45	Middle	32	26	28
46 or more	Older	35	25	26
	TOTAL	100	100	100
	Mean*	40.4	36.6	37.4

t = 2.15 df = 255 .02<P<.05

Table 3. Family Income (annual) Among Respondents by Place of Residence

Family Income		Village (N=52)	Town (N=207)
Less than 3,000	Low	35	22
$3000 - $5999	Middle	38	44
$6000 - $9999	Middle	21	29
$10,000 and more	High	6	5
TOTAL		100	100

$X^2 = 4.24$ df = 3 .20<P<.30

Table 4. Subjective Status of Family in Own Community by Type of Place

	Village		Town		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 (-)	27	52	59	29	86	33
2	13	25	97	47	110	43
3	11	21	44	21	55	21
4 (+)	1	2	7	3	8	3
	52	100	207	100	259	100

$X^2 = 11.83$ df = 3 .005<P<.010

Table 5. Residence Goals of Black Nonmetropolitan Females

	Frequency of Responses in Each Category			% of Responses in Each Category		
	Rural (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)	Rural (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)
In a City						
Very large city	0	9	9	.00	4.35	3.47
Middle sized city	2	18	20	3.85	8.70	7.72
Small sized city	2	21	23	3.85	10.15	8.88
	4	48	52	7.70	23.20	20.07
Near a City						
In a town or village	3	78	81	5.77	37.68	31.27
In the country but not on a farm	4	19	23	7.69	9.18	8.88
On a farm	1	2	3	1.92	0.97	1.16
	8	99	107	15 38	47.83	41.31
Not near a City						
In a town or village	2	32	34	3.85	15.46	13.13
In the country but not on a farm	20	22	42	38.46	10.63	16.22
On a farm	18	6	24	34.62	2.90	9.27
	40	60	100	76.93	28.99	38.62

No info. = 0

Table 6. **Proximity of Desired Residence to Present Residence**

	Frequency of Responses in Each Category			% of Responses in Each Category		
	Rural (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)	Rural (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)
Same community (i.e. same city, town, rural community)	35	75	110	70.00	38.46	44.95
Different community; same county	7	8	15	14.00	4.10	6.12
	42	83	125	84.00	42.56	51.08
Different county; same region of Texas	[redacted]	80	87	14.00	41.03	35.51
Different region of Texas	1	7	8	2.00	3.59	3.27
	8	87	95	16.00	44.62	38.78
Louisiana	0	7	7	0	3.59	2.86
State other than Louisiana	0	18	18	0	9.23	7.35
	0	25	25	0	12.82	10.21

No Info. = 14

Table 7. Type of Additional Schoo' Desired by Nonmetropolitan Black Females

	Frequency of Responses in Each Category			% of Responses in Each Category		
	Rural (N=57)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)	Rural (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)
Less Than high school	1	3	4	1.92	1.44	1.54
Graduate from high school	7	41	48	13.46	19.80	18.53
	8	44	52	15.38	21.24	20.07
High School + vocational training	18	41	59	34.61	19.80	22.78
Junior College	1	3	4	1.92	1.45	1.54
	19	44	63	36.53	21.25	24.32
College Graduate	10	67	77	19.23	32.37	29.73
Graduate School	2	5	7	3.85	2.41	2.70
	12	72	84	23.08	34.78	32.43
Doesn't Apply (additional school not desired)	13	47	60	25.00	22.70	23.17

No Info. = 0

Table 8. Reason for Desiring More Education (Nonmetropolitan Black Females)

	Frequency of Responses in Each Category			% of Responses in Each Category		
	Rural (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)	Rural (N=52)	Town (N=207)	Total (N=259)
Better Job (opportunities)	16	75	91	30.769	36.77	35.55
To make more money and/or better living conditions	12	19	31	23.08	9.31	12.11
Both Reasons Above	3	13	16	5.77	6.37	6.25
To increase understanding, help me cope with my problems, better myself, personal satisfaction	7	20	27	13.46	9.80	10.55
To help my children or others in the family	1	13	14	1.92	6.37	5.47
To help others (more general)	0	5	5	0.00	2.45	1.95
Other	0	1	1	0.00	0.49	0.39
More than 1 of above	0	11	11	0.00	5.39	4.30
Not applicable	13	47	60	25.00	23.04	23.44

No Info = 3

APPENDIX D: CONTROLS

Table 1. Desire for Out-Migration By Age and Educational Aspiration

Migration Aspiration	Young: 35 or less[a]			Middle: 36 - 45[b]			Older: 45 or more[c]		
	EA			EA			EA		
	None	HS	HS Plus	None	HS	HS Plus	None	HS	HS Plus
No Move	50%	48%	55%	38%	50%	66%	68%	50%	95%
Rural Out-Migration	50%	52%	45%	62%	50%	33%	32%	50%	5%
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N=	8	21	66	13	8	35	22	12	22

a. Cell size insufficient for Chi Square analysis.

b. Cell size insufficient for Chi Square analysis.

c. $X^2 = 9.45$ df=2 P <.01

Table 2. Desire For Rural Out-Migration by Actual Family Income and Educational Aspirations

Migration Aspiration	Low Income[a]			Middle Income[b]			High Income[c]		
	EA			EA			EA		
	None	HS	HS Plus	None	HS	HS Plus	None	HS	HS Plus
No Move	82%	30%	67%	53%	63%	63%	38%	46%	64%
Rural Out-Migration	18%	70%	33%	47%	37%	37%	62%	54%	36%
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N=	11	10	15	17	19	54	13	13	47

a. Cell size insufficient for Chi Square analysis.

b. $X^2 = 1.38$ df=2 $.50 < P < .70$

c. $X^2 = 3.36$ df=2 $.10 < P < .20$

Table 3. Desire For Rural Out-Migration By Subjective Status Placement and Educational Aspirations

Migration Aspiration	Low Income[a]			Moderate Income[b]			High Income[c]		
	EA			EA			EA		
	None	HS	HS Plus	None	HS	HS Plus	None	HS	HS Plus
No Move	85%	64%	81%	38%	29%	49%	56%	50%	68%
Rural Out-Migration	15%	36%	19%	62%	71%	51%	44%	50%	32%
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N=	13	22	37	21	14	49	9	6	38

a. $X^2 = 2.92$ df=2 $.20 < p < .30$

b. $X^2 = 2.11$ df=2 $P < .90$

c. Cell size insufficient for Chi Square analysis.

Table 4. Desire For Rural Out-Migration By Educational Aspirations and Certainty of Migration Expectation

Migration Aspiration	Migration Expected[a]			No Migration Expected[b]		
	EA			EA		
	None	HS	HS Plus	None	HS	HS Plus
No Move	20%	22%	23%	61%	58%	76%
Rural Out-Migration	80%	78%	77%	39%	42%	24%
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
N=	5	9	26	38	33	97

a. Cell size insufficient for Chi Square analysis.

b. $X^2 = 5.67$ df=2 $.05 < P < .10$